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[COLLECTANEA ADAMANTÆA.]

The Gunpowder Plot.

COLLECTANEA ADAMANTÆA.—XI.

A TRUE NARRATION

OF THAT

HORRIBLE CONSPIRACY

AGAINST

KING JAMES and the WHOLE PARLIAMENT of ENGLAND,

COMMONLY CALLED THE

GUNPOWDER TREASON:

Written in Latine by Jacobus Augustus Thuanus, Privy Councillor to the King of France, and President of the Supream Senate of that Kingdom.

Faithfully rendred into English.

LONDON:
Printed for *John Leigh* at the Sign of the *Blew Bell* by *Flying-Horse* Court in *Fleet-street.*
1674.

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[Thou, Jacques A.]

The Gunpowder Plot.

NOW shall we in a continued Relation declare that Horrid, and by all Parties, justly detested* Conspiracy entred into against the King of Great Britain; which being discovered about the end of this year [1605] was in the next year suppressed by the Death of the Conspirators.

To the Petition for Liberty of Conscience made by the Papists in the former Session of Parliament, and rejected by the King, there was a rumour there would be another preferred at the next Sessions, (which had been now often deferred)

* So detestable it seems it was to some of the Students of the English Colledge at Rome, that being informed of the discovery of the Plot, Sixteen of of them (abhorring such jugling and bloody Designs) forsook the Colledge, slipt into France, some of them turning to the Church of England, whither they came.—Foulis, *Hist. of Popish Plots*, li. 10. c. 2. p. 692.

which should be in no danger of being denyed as the former, but should carry with it a necessity of being granted by the King whither he would or not. Therefore those that managed the Affairs of the Kingdom under a generous and no wayes suspicious King, fearing nothing worse, did make it their business to avoid such Petitions, and that necessity that did attend them. But among the Conspirators it was consulted, not how they might obtain the King's favour, which they now despaired of; but how they might revenge that repulse, though with the ruine of the Kingdom, which the other never thought of.

The beginning of these Counsels are to be derived from the latter end of Q. Elizabeth. For then, as appeared afterwards by proofs and confessions, Robert Winter (to whom Oswald Tesmond *alias* Greenwell, of the Society of the Jesuits joyned himself as his Companion) was by the advice of Hen. Garnet, Provincial or Superiour of the said Society in England (Robert Catesby and Francis Tresham of the Gentry, instigating) privately sent into Spain, in the name of the Catholicks, with Letters Commendatory to Arthur Creswell of the same Society living in Spain, and with Commands to the King;* of which this was the summe.

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* Dec. 1601.

That he should forthwith send an Army into England, for which the Catholicks would be ready in Arms as soon as it came over. In the mean while that he should assign yearly Pensions to some Catholick Gentlemen. Furthermore, that he should insinuate it to the King, that there were some Gentlemen and Military persons that were aggrieved at the Present state of things, whom he might easily draw to his Part, by relieving their necessities. And whereas the greatest difficulty, after the Landing such an Army, would be for supply of Horses; they in England would take care to have Two thousand Horses ready provided upon all occasions.

This thing was secretly transacted by the Mediation of Creswell with Petrus Francesa Secretary to King Philip, and Franciscus Sandovallius Duke of Lerma, and he affirmed that the thing would be very acceptable to King Philip, and that he had offered his utmost assistance: that it was also agreed among them of the Place of Landing. For if the forces were great, then Kent and Essex would be most commodious for their Landing; if less, Milford in Wales; and that King Philip had promised by Count Miranda toward that Expedition Ten hundred thousand Crowns. Stored with these promises, Winter returns into England, and acquaints Garnet, Catesby, and Tresham what he had done.

These things were transacted under Q. Elizabeth: who dying about this time, Christopher Wright who was privy to these matters, is speedily sent into Spain,* who bringing the News of the Queen's Death, presseth the business of the Pensions and the Expedition. With him was sent from Bruxells by William Stanley, Hugh Owen, and Balduinus (one of the Society of Jesuits) Guido Fawkes, with Letters† to Creswell that he should speed the business. To him was given in Command, that he should signifie to the King that the Condition of the Catholicks would be more hard under the new King, then it had been Q. Elizabeth; and therefore that he should by no means desist from so laudable an Enterprize. That Milford lay open for an easie Landing to Spinola.

But the state of things was changed by the death of the Queen, and King Philip returned an Answer worthy of a King, that he could no longer attend to their Petitions, for that he had sent Ambassadors into England, to treat of Peace with the new King.

Therefore despairing of their designs as to King Philip, the Conspirators fly to their last and desperate Counsels, and in the first place they

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* Mar. 1603. † 22 Jun. 1603.

confirm their resolutions to attempt some great Enterprize. And thus their Divines discoursed.

To depose Kings, to grant their Kingdoms to others, is in the power of the Supream Judge of the Church; But all Hereticks being *ipso jure* separated from communion of the Faithful, are every year on Holy Thursday, excommunicated by the Pope. And this holdeth not only in Professed Hereticks, but in those that are covertly such, because being reputed *ipso Jure* Excommunicate they do incur the (same) Penalties, which are *ipso facto* deserved by professed Hereticks. From thence it follows, that Kings and other Christian Princes if they fall into Heresie may be deposed, and their Subjects discharged of their Allegiance. Nor can they recover their Right again, no, not though they should be reconciled to the Church. When it is said that the Church, the Common Mother of all, doth shut her bosome against none that return to her, this is to be understood with a distinction, *vis.* provided it be not to the damage or danger of the Church. For this is true as to the Soul, but not as to the Kingdom.

Nor ought this punishment to be extended only to Princes that are thus infected, but also to their Sons, who for their Fathers Sin are excluded from Succession in the Kingdom. For Heresie is a Leprosie, and an Hereditary Disease: and to speak more plainly, he loseth his Kingdom that

deserteth the Roman Religion: he is to be accursed, abdicated, proscribed; neither is he, nor any of his Posterity to be restored to the Kingdom: as to his Soul, he may be absolved by the Pope only.

Thinking themselves abundantly secured within by these reasonings, they begin to seek outward strengthenings to their conspiracy: and chiefly Secresie, which they sealed by Confession, and the receiving of the Sacrament. To this end there was an oath drawn up amongst them,* in which they did engage their Faith by the H. Trinity and the Sacrament, which they were presently to receive, that they would neither directly or indirectly by word or circumstance discover the Plot now to be communicated to them, nor would they desist from prosecuting it, unless allowed by their Associates.

Thus being encouraged by the authority of their Divines, they betake themselves to the adventure (as) not only lawful and laudable, but meritorious. This was done before John Gerard of that Society.

Unto this, after Confession, by the Sacrament of the Altar, were drawn in, the next May, at first five of the Conspirators, Robert Catesby, Tho. Winter, Tho. Percy, Kinsman to the E. of Northumberland, John Wright, and the aforementioned Fawkes called out of Flanders.

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* May, 1604.

Catesby, the Author of this Tragedy, thought it not enough that this, or that, or any single person should be aimed at, but that all, together, and at the same time, should be comprehended in this Conspiracy.

For so he reasoned within himself.

The King himself might many wayes be taken away, but this would be nothing as long as the Prince and the Duke of York were alive: again, if they were removed, yet this would advantage nothing so long as there remained a Parliament, so vigilant, so circumspect to whatever might happen: or if the Parliament or the chief Members of it, could be destroyed, there would remain still the Peers of the Realm; so many Prudent Persons, so many powerful Earls, addicted to that Party, whom they could hardly resist, and who by their Authority, Wealth, and Dependents, would be able, if occasion should be, to restore things to their former state. Therefore not by delayes, but at one blow all were to be swallowed up, and so laudable an Atchievement was to be brought to effect altogether, and at once.

At Westminster there is an old Palace of very great Honor and Veneration for its Antiquity, in which the great Councils of the Kingdom are used to be celebrated; which by a word borrowed from us they call a Parliament. In this, the King

with His Male issue, the Bishops of his Privy Councel, the Peers, the English Nobility, the Chief Magistrates, and those that are delegated from particular Counties, Cities, Towns, and Burroughs; in short, the Men of greatest Wisdom and Counsel do meet together.

Here Catesby thought a convenient place to execute his so long studied and digested Plot: and having made a Vault, and storing it with a great quantity of Gun-Powder, to involve all those together, who could not severally be taken, together with the King and His Family in the Rubbish of the same Ruines.

Therefore when he had dealt with Piercy, and he after many bitter complaints of the King, through impatience, broke forth into these words, "That there was only one way left to be delivered from so many Evils, and that was to take the King out of the way, and to that end, as he was ready for any attempt, did freely offer his own Service." Catesby, who was more cautious and cunning, moderated the Gentlemans heat, and, "God forbid, said he, that this Head of thine so dear to all good men should be so fruitlesly exposed to such danger. The business may be undertaken and accomplished, yet so as that you and such as you are may still be preserved for further consulting for Religion and the Public weal."

Then he opens his design in very plausible words, and with like Artifice shews him the manner how it was to be effected. Piercy agrees, and presently hires an house nigh to the place, and very opportune to work his Vault.

The Parliament that was called the year before, was deferred till February following. Mean while,* Tho. Bates, Cateby's Servant, a dextrous Fellow, and one in whom his master did much confide, being, least he should suspect any thing, taken into the privity of the Fact, when at first he seemed to be moved at the horridness of the thing, he is sent to Tesmund *alias* Greenwell (for those men, that they might the better be undiscovered, went under two Names, sometimes under three) by whom he was perswaded, and strangely confirmed to the Execution of the design, being made sensible of the Meritoriousness of the work. Afterwards Robert Keyes, and after him Ambrose Rockwood, and John Grant, were taken into the Plot. III Eid. Xbr.† the Vault was begun, Christopher Witthie, and a little after Robert Winter being also taken into the Society.

The work being often intermitted and often repeated, at length the Vault was brought to the Wall of the Court, where a new difficulty ariseth from the hardness of the Wall, and the thickness

* Nov. 1604. † Dec. 11.

of three Ells; so that under a long time the work could not be finished, and there were now but a few dayes to the sitting of the Parliament.

And now the pertinacious industry of the Workmen had almost beat its way through the middle of the Wall, and they seemed not so much to want good minds (to the work) as time, when as the Parliament was put off till the Month of October. Then was Despair turned into Joy, with certain confidence that they should effect their design: and it was observed that whiles they briskly beat upon the Wall, there was a noise heard upon the other side of the Wall. Thither Fawks is sent to enquire out the cause. He brings word back that there was a Cellar under Ground, from whence they were removing Cole, he being lately Dead who had hired that Cellar for his own use. Therefore the Conspirators thinking that Cellar more commodious, by the help of Piercy, let out their other Houses, and bring out all their Materials and hopes into this. Such was the opportuneness of the place (for it was almost directly under the Royal Throne) that so seasonable an accident did make them perswade themselves, that God did by a secret Conduct favour their Attempt. These things happened about the Feast of Easter. The Gun-powder is at their leisure carried into the Cellar from Catesby's House over against the Palace, where it

had been with great care and diligence brought together; First, Twenty Barrels are layed in and covered with Billets and Faggots.

Then the Conspirators being sure of the good event, began to consult what was to be done after they had effected their Plot: First, they considered of taking the Prince, who about that time, they came to understand, would not come to the Parliament with his father, contrary to what they concluded in the beginning, and against him they plotted destruction, as one that was no Friend of theirs, and they had found out a way for it.

The next care was for Supplies of Money, concerning which they thought they had sufficiently provided. They had also provided that the Peers and Gentry addicted to Popery, should, as much as might be, be exempt from danger. Lastly, they debated concerning calling in Foreign Princes to their assistance; but being doubtful of their faith and secresie, they thought fit not to send to them till they had accomplished their design; for commonly such Actions are not commended but by their Event.

They passed their Judgments upon them severally, the Spaniards seemed to be more opportune for them, but too remote, and too slow in raising Forces. The French was near, but fearful and suspected for the close league he held with the Dutch. The most present help was from Flanders,

from whence they might most commodiously expect Supplies; for which Stanly was designed the Captain or Commander.

Moreover, that they might the more easily deceive the world, and least by their passing to and fro to those places they should give some cause of Suspition, they go their several wayes; some into the Countrey, some a great way out of the Island, waiting for the time appointed for the Execution. Fawks went into Flanders that he might acquaint Stanly and Owen with the whole Matter, nor did he return into England till the latter end of August.

Catesby, that he might not be idle in the mean time, gets Francis Tresham and Everard Digby to his Party, agreeing with them for Supply of Money, and the former promised Two thousand pounds of English Money, the other Fifteen hundred. Piercy, that was prodigal at another mans charge, promised whatsoever he could scrape together of the Revenues of the E. of Northumberland.

In the mean time, Ten more Barrels of Gunpowder are added to the former, and four more greater than the rest, upon suspition, least by the moistness of the place, the former should have been spoiled; and again, they are all covered over with a great heap of stones and wood.

And now the time of the Parliaments convening

drew on, and was again put off till the Nones of November.* Therefore the Conspirators did again repeat their consultation, and some were appointed who, on the same day that the Enterprize was to be Executed, should seize upon the Lady Elizabeth (the Kings eldest Daughter, who was brought up under the Lord Farrington in Warwickshire) under pretence of an Hunting Match, which Everard Digby, who was privy to the matter, had appointed with great preparation at Dunchurch. Her they decreed publickly to proclaim Queen.

They taking to themselves the Titles of the Assertors of liberty, did nothing less at first than profess themselves the Authors of the Fact,† or make any mention of Religion to the People, but purposed to hold that in suspense for some time, and by a Proclamation published in the Queens name to redress great grievances for the present, and feed them with hopes of more for the future, till the Faction growing strong, either by favour or severity of new Edicts, they might draw the People to their Parts and Obedience; and the odiousness of their fact so by degrees discovering it self would in time, and together with their good success grow off.

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* 5 Nov.

† They purposed when the blow was first given—but the success thereof douòtful, to father the fact on the Puritans.—*Fuller* v. *Foulis*, p. 690.

Nor came it in so long time into the minds of any of them how many Innocents all about them, how many Infants, how many that agreed with them in Religion, how many who perhaps had deserved well of them that vast ruine would overwhelm.

Now all things are ready, and the last Scene was going to be Acted, when as by the unsearchable Judgment of God, one who desired to save another, brought destruction both to himself and his Associates.

There were ten dayes to the Parliament, when upon Saturday in the Evening a Letter was brought as from a Friend to the Lord Monteagle, but by whom written, is uncertain, and by whom brought unknown. By it he was warned to forbear meeting at the Parliament for the first two dayes of the Session; forasmuch as some great, and sudden, and unsuspected mischief did threaten that Meeting.

The hand of him that wrote it was unknown, and the writing itself purposely so ordered, that it could hardly be read. No date to the Letter, no subscription, no inscription put to it, and the whole composure of words ambiguous.

The Lord Monteagle was doubtful what he should do; therefore late in the night he goeth to Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury, and chief Secretary to the King, and giving him the Letter,

freely declared to him how he came by it, and how little he valued it. Cecil did not make much more account of it, and yet thought it was not altogether to be neglected; and Therefore showed it to the chief Councellors, Charles Howard, Chief Admiral of the seas, the Earl of Nottingham, to the Earls of Worcester, and Northampton.

The thing being considered of amongst them, although at first sight the Letter seemed of no great moment; yet they thought that not the slightest discovery ought to be despised, especially where the safety of the King was endangered, nor such great care to be blamed in them, to whom the preservation of His Majesty did both by Office and Duty belong.

The King was then gone to Royston, to Hunt. It seemed good to them to determine nothing before they had consulted the King. For they said that they had oftentimes experienced the quick apprehension, and happy conjecture of the King in unriddleing things that were liable to greatest doubtfulness.

Upon the Calends of November,* the King returned to the City, and forthwith Cecil taking him aside, unfolds the matter, and shews him the Letter, which it seems worth while to insert here for the perpetual remembrance of it; forasmuch

* 1 Nov.

as not without cause it afforded such matter of dispute between him and his Councellors.

"The love which I bear to some of your Friends makes me careful for your safety. Wherefore I advise you as you love your life, that you would invent some excuse for your absence from the Parliament. For God and Men, as it were by agreement do hasten to punish the wickedness of this Age. Do not make light of this warning, but depart as soon as you can into your own Countrey, where you may securely expect the event. For although no signs of troubles do appear, yet I admonish you that that meeting shall receive a terrible blow, and shall not see who smiteth them. Do not despise this discovery, it may be profitable to you, it cannot hurt you. For the danger is over as soon as you have burnt this Letter. I hope by the grace of God you will make good use of this Counsell, to whose protection I commend you."

The King having read the Letter (though through the generousness of his mind, he was no way prone to suspicion) did conjecture that some strange thing did lye hid under it, and that the notice given, was by no means to be neglected.

On the other side, Cecil said, it was certainly written by some Mad man: For no man well in wits would speak at this rate of a danger which he doth admonish so much to beware of. *The danger*

is over so soon as you shall burn the Letter. How small a danger could that be which should vanish in so short a moment.

On the other side the King, in whose breast the first suspition had taken deep root, urged the foregoing words, *That assembly shall receive a terrible blow, and shall not see who smiteth them.* And whiles walking in the Gallery he deeply thought of these things from one particular to another, it came into his mind that a sudden blow by Gun-powder was intended by those words: For what more sudden than a blow by Gun-powder?

Thus the King and Salisbury so broke off their discourse, that the King did strongly persevere in his conjecture. Salisbury, to free the Kings mind from fears and cares seemed in his presence to make light of this notice given; but in the mean time admiring within himself the Kings uncouth and unusual interpretation, and so presently suspecting it, did conclude, that it was not lightly to be regarded.

The next day the thing being again considered of by the King, and his Counsellors, it seemed good that the Palace with the places near adjoyning, should be diligently searched, and that business was assigned to the Lord Chamberlain, who upon the Monday which preceded the Parliament, about the Evening, that they might give no occasion of Rumours, goes with the Lord Monteagle to those places: entring into the house

that Percy had hired, they found a great heap of Billets and Faggots and Coal in a Vault underground; and Wineard the Keeper of the Kings houses* being there present, he was asked for what use they were brought in thither? they understood that the house was hired by Percy, and that heap was brought in by him.

Moreover the Chamberlain spying Fawks standing in a corner of the Cellar, asked who he was, and what business he had there? Who answered, that he was the Domestick Servant of Percy, and the Keeper of that house in Percy's absence.

Having thus done, they return to the Court, reporting what they had seen, and conjecturing worse things then formerly they had done. For it came into Monteagle's mind upon the mention of Percy, that he was highly addicted to the Popish Religion, that they had formerly been acquainted, and lived as Friends, and it might be that he was the Author of that Letter which gave ground to all this suspition.

The Lord Chamberlain among other suspicious matters, did revolve in his mind, that that store of wood in the house of Percy, where he seldom resided, was not brought in thither to no purpose, and that that Servant of Percy whom he saw in the Cellar, looked like a desperate, wicked Knave.

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* Wardrobe.

All which things did increase the Kings suspition, who would have that Vault further searched again; but least if nothing were found, the Counsellors should make themselves ridiculous to the People, as if they were afraid of every light report; and moreover, fearing, least whiles they appeared to suspect Percy, who was allied in Blood to the chiefest Peers of the Realm, they should seem to suspect the Earl of Northumberland himself: yet when the safety of the King did prevail upon them they so ordered the matter, that search should be made without noise or injury to any.

It was given in command to Sir Thomas Knevet, Justice of Peace for Westminster, that in the dead of the Night he should go with a convenient company to that house, and should take Wineard a long with him, under pretence that he had lost some Hangings and Taprestry.

Thither Sir Tho. Knevet going, finds Fawks, Percy's Domestick Servant, who under a feigned name called himself John Johnson, before the house booted and habited for a Journey; and he gives command presently to lay hold on him. From thence going into the Cellar, he speedily removes the Wood and Coal, which being removed, the Treason appeared, one little Barrel of Gunpowder being first discovered by it self, and afterward the heap being removed 36 Barrels of different magnitude were found there.

Then turning to the Prisoner, and examining his Garments they found in them tinder, and three Match cords.

But he being taken in the Fact, and not able to deny, the case being now desperate, he of his own accord confessed the Crime, and with an unappalled countenance (as he was a man of a resolute mind to undertake any desperate attempt) he added, that it was well for them that they found him before the house, now lately come out of the Cellar, in which all things were ready: for if they had found him within, he would not have stood to have buried himself and them together, by putting fire to the Train.

Knevet having discovered the matter, returns forthwith rejoicing to the Palace, about Four a Clock in the Morning, and acquaints Salisbury and the Lord Chamberlain; who presently with a noise rush into the Kings Bed Chamber, and tell him the Treason was detected, and they had the Author of it in Custody and Bonds.

The fame of this being spread abroad, for in so great a matter of Joy it could not be concealed, the Conspirators fly some this way, some that way, and meet together at Holbech at the house of Stephen Littleton, in the borders of Staffordshire.

Thither came those that were privy to the Conspiracy out of Warwickshire and Worcestershire; although they were ignorant of the discovery

of the Plot, having taken away by force from Gentlemens houses their War-horses; thereby giving a manifest token what they would have done when they had got the power in their hands, when as they ravaged with such boldness, while the event was yet doubtful.

The Leaders of the Faction trusted that great numbers of Men, and a considerable Army would flock into them, as soon as they should appear in Arms. But the Lieutenants and Sheriffs being before, while the Treason was only suspected, Commanded by the King to ride about their Counties, their attempts were all made void, and scarcely an Hundred of all that number appeared in Arms. And they were encompassed by Richard Walsh, High Sheriff of the County of Worcester, who came upon them unexpectedly with a strong power of Men, so that they could not escape.

When despairing of Pardon, and their troubled Consciences putting them under desperate exploits, the Gun-powder that was drying by the Fire, took fire by a sparkle that fell into it, and so suddenly burnt the Faces, Sides, Arms, Hands of the Besieged, that they were rendered unable to handle their Arms, and so lost their strength and courage together.

Catesby and Percy, that were most active, together with Tho. Winter, while they betake themselves to a corner of the house, are both shot

through with a Leaden Bullet. Winter being wounded, fell into the hands of the King's Party, both the Wrights were slain; Grant, Digby, Rockwood, and Bates were taken Prisoners. Tresham whiles shifting his Lodgings in London, he sometime escaped, yet at last was taken. Robert Winter and Littelton a long time wandring up and down the Woods, at last fell into the hands of the Guards, and were all committed to the Tower at London.

Being Examined without the rack (for only Fawks was put under this way of Examination, and that but moderately) they severally discovered the whole series of the matter as we have before recounted, and taxed none in Holy Orders, which many looked upon as purposely avoided, because they were bound by oath not to do it. When as Francis Tresham had before he dyed in Prison of his own accord nominated Henry Garnet, being admonished thereof by his Wife he wrote a Letter to the Earl of Salisbury, and excusing his too rash confession, he so discharged Garnet *as much as in him lay* by a solemn adjuration interposed, that he did entangle himself in a notorious lye, affirming* that he had not seen Garnet of sixteen years;

* He took it upon his Salvation, even in *articulo mortis* (a lamentable thing) for within three hours after he dyed.—*Proceedings against the late Traitors.* C c 2. 3.

when as it did appear afterward by the confession of Garnet* that they had often and for a long time together conversed one with another, before the six moneths last past.

Digby confessing† the matter as it was in truth endeavoured to excuse the horridness of the Fact,‡ which he acknowledged and seemed to detect, by the desperateness of their condition: For being made to hope that the new King, upon his coming to the Kingdom, would indulge liberty of Conscience to those of the Popish Religion, and would permit the exercise thereof with some restriction; This being denyed, it drove those miserable men unadvisedly to pernicious Counsels.

Here the Earl of Northampton and Cecil (who together with the Earl of Nottingham, Suffolk, Worcester, and Devonshire, did sit as Judges in

* And of Mrs. Anne Vaux, who confessed that she had seen Mr. Tresham with Garnet at her house three or four times since the Kings coming in; and that they were at Erith together the last summer, and that Garnet and she were not long since with Mr. Tresham at his house in Northampton-shire, and stayed there. —*Proceedings, ibid.*

† 1606.

‡ He sought to clear all the Jesuits of those practises which they themselves have now confessed *ex ore proprio.*—*Proceedings, ibid.* Even at the time of Garnets Tryal was current throughout the Town a report of a Retractation under Bates his hand, of his accusation of Greenwell.—*Proceedings, ibid.*

that Cause) interposed, affirming that the King never gave them any hope of liberty, nor ever engaged his word for it; but factious persons did maliciously throw such a report abroad, that they might have a pretence wherewith to excuse themselves, and such as they were, for the Seditions which they raised in the Kingdom.

At length being Convicted and found Guilty, they are condemned to the punishment wont to be inflicted by the Laws of the Realm, upon Rebels and Traytors.

Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Thomas Bates were Executed at London, nigh the Western Gate of St. Paul's Church in the later end of January. The day following Tho. Winter, Ambrose Rockwood, Robert Keies, and Guido Fawks, who confessed that they had wrought in the Vault were executed at Westmonaster in the Old Palace yard near the Parliament house.

Upon this many, who for this cause were banished, or of their own accord changed their Native Soil, were most courteously received at Calice, by Dominick Wikes,* the Governour there, for so the King commanded.

Of whom one was of such a perverse mind that when Wikes did shew himself to bewail his and his

* Vicus.

Companions fortune, and for their comfort added, *Though they had lost their Native Countrey, yet by the Kings grace they had a Neighbouring one allowed them. Nay*, saith the other, *It is the least part of our grief, that we are banished our Native Countrey, and that we are forced to change our Soil, because every good man counts that his Countrey where he can be well: this doth truly and heartily grieve us, that we could not bring so generous and wholsom a design to perfection.*

Which as soon as Vicus contrary to his expectation, had heard he could hardly for anger abstain from throwing that man into the Sea, who gloryed in such a Plot as was damned by all men. For so I remember I have heard Vicus often say, when together with Alexander Delbenius, he came courteously upon the account of our Ancient friendship to visit me, a little before he went from us.

The Plot being discovered, the Parliament among public rejoycings was held with great security. To whom the King made a most weighty Oration, and set forth the inexpressible Mercy of God over all his works, towards Himself, his Family, and His whole Kingdom, largely aggravating the thing from its several circumstances. This Temperament being with great Justice added, That he did not say, All that were addicted to the Romish Religion were to be included as guilty of

this Crime: for that there were many among them, who although they are involved in Popish Errors (so he called them) yet had they not lost their true Loyalty to Princes, but did observe the Duty both of a Christian man, and of a good Subject; and that he in return had good thoughts of them; and that he thought that the severity of the Puritans was worthy of flames, who deny that any Papist can be received into Heaven.*

This likewise was worthy the Wisdom of a most just Prince, that he did judge that no Forreign Prince or Commonwealth, nor none that did manage affairs for them had any hand in this Conspiracy, as who did judge of them according to his own mind and temper, and would think of others what he would that they should think of him.

Therefore he did will and require, that when

* And this conclusion with no less truth; That as upon the one part many honest men, seduced with some errors of Popery, may yet remaine good and faithful Subjects: So as on the other part, none of those that truly know and believe the whole ground, and School conclusions of their Doctrine, can ever prove either good Christians or faithful Subjects. He had said a little before, That many honest men blinded peradventure with some notions of Popery, yet do they either not know, or at least not believe all the true grounds of Popery, which is indeed the mysterie of Iniquity.

any mention should be made of this Conspiracy in Parliament, every one should think and speak honourably of them. Which thing was done for the respect he bore to the Spaniards, with whom desiring to keep that peace which he of late made with them, he would not leave any the least appearance of an alienated affection, or a suspicious mind.

He added this most generously, *That he would that all men should understand, that resting in Gods protection, the tranquillity and quiet of his mind was not at all disturbed by this accident, and that he did wish that his breast were transparent to all, that his People might behold the most secret recesses of his heart.*

But when he judged it might conduce much to example and Publick Security, that he should severely punish the Authours of so horrid a Crime, and because there was a suspition arising from Letters, Confessions and Proofs made, that Gerard *alias* Brek, Hen. Garnet, Oswald Tesmond *alias* Greenwell, were either privy to, or promoters of this Conspiracy; therefore upon the XVIII. of the Kalends of February,* a Proclamation is published against them, and a reward proposed to him that should discover and bring them to their Tryal, as also a penalty added against those who after the publishing of this Proclamation should entertain,

* 14 Jan.

nourish, conceal, or be any way aiding the persons named in that Proclamation, or should at all indeavour that those who are accused of this horrid Crime should not be found out and apprehended.

In order hereunto diligent search is made, and strict enquiry after them, who concealed themselves; at length Hen. Garnet and ——— Hall and Garnets Servant were taken in the house of Abington a Papist, and sent to London, and cast into the Tower. The wretched Servant for fear least he should be forced by torments to accuse his Master, or despairing upon some other account, did lay violent hands upon himself in the Prison, and with a blunt knife (for he was not permitted to have a keen one by him) he cut up his own Belly, and drew out his Bowels: and although his wound was bound up yet before he could be Examined, he dyed.

Garnet was very gently used in his Imprisonment, as he himself afterward confessed.

At first he denyed all things; and when it did appear that nothing could be drawn from him voluntarily, and the King that he might avoid calumny was unwilling to use torments upon him, resolves by craft to illude his cautious pertinacy, and to bring him to larger Confessions (who would answer little or nothing) whether he would or not.

He secretly imploys a man, who by deep groans

and frequent complaints against the King, and his Counsellors, and the deplorable condition of the Catholicks in England, did in the end perswade Garnet that he was Popishly enclined, and so crept into intimate familiarity with him. This man he sends with a Letter to a Gentlewoman, that was Imprisoned for her Religion, who kept her family at Whitweb and other places, and received with great hospitality those whom he commended to her. In which Letter he wrote plainly, and yet sparingly: what things he had already confessed, what he was not yet examined upon, and by what means he would excuse those things (which he had confessed) and conceal these.

He wrote likewise to Rookwood the Priest, who was Prisoner in another Prison, and wrote his Letter with Ink in the middle, about some familiar matters that any one might read, but left broad Margents on both sides, which he filled with his Secrets, written with the juice of an Orange, denying all whatsoever he had confessed before the Lords. As to the Spanish Expedition, he said he had obtained the King's Pardon. As to this last Conspiracy he should avoid Judgment, because he knew they could make no sufficient proofs against him. But however it went, he added, having too high an opinion of himself, that which was spoken of the only Redeemer of

the world, It would be necessary that one man should die for the People.

The Letter was by the Kings Councellors, who smelt out the cunning, held to the fire, and presently the writing appeared, and the fraud was discovered.

He being every day more and more confident of his instructed Keeper, told him he did exceedingly desire to have some conference with Hall, his Companion. He promised to bring it about, and brought both of them to a place where they might easily hear one another, and where he himself to avoid all suspition might be seen by them both. In the mean time he placed two men of known credit near the place who (they knowing no such thing, and minding only the return of their Keeper who was gone abroad) might hear whatsoever passed between them. There each of them freely discovered what they had confessed, what they had been Examined about, what excuses and evasions (for these were their words) they had prepared for every particular, and many other such things, which being carefully taken, were delivered to the Counsel in writing. The next day (the Prisoners suspecting no such thing) Delegates from the King came to them, and Examine Garnet and Hall a part, and object to them that they had yesterday held private conference with one another.

Garnet thinking they only spoke this upon conjecture, stifly denyed it, and forswore it upon the word of a Priest.*

At last, Hall having confessed the Fact, and he finding there was no avoiding it, begged Pardon for his contrary asseveration which he sought to elevate by a forced interpretation or Equivocation. And professing that he would speak ingenuously, He answered, "that he had hitherto so constantly denyed it, because he knew that no man (living) but one (he meant Greenwell), could accuse him as guilty of the late Fact. But now that he saw himself encompassed with such a cloud of witnesses, he would no longer dissemble, but did confess that about five moneths agone he was acquainted by Greenwell with the whole matter. That before that, Catesby had in general told him that the Catholicks in England were attempting some great thing as to Religion, and asked whether if good men should be involved in the danger, this were to be made matter of Conscience. But that he, who had a contrary command from the Pope, that he should not engage in any Conspiracy refused to hear any further of it. That he did pour out Prayers for the good success of

* Upon his Soul, reiterating it with so many detestable execrations, as wounded the Lords hearts to hear him.—*Proceedings*, Y. 3.

the great cause, and amongst other things, used the Hymn that was commonly Sung in the Church, but intended nothing else when he did so, but only prayed God that in the next Parliament no grievous Lawes might be made against the Recusants: so they are called in England, who keeping within their own houses, have their liberty and refuse to Joyne in worship with the Protestants."

Garnet being twenty times Examined, between the Eids of Febr. and the VII of the Calends of April,* two dayes after is arraigned at the Publick Tribunal in London:† [Guild Hall.]

Here the Crimes are laid to the charge of the Prisoner, by Sir John Crook, which are afterwards enlarged on in a long Speech by Sir Edward Cook, the Kings Attorney General. Then after Garnet had said something for himself, and especially something concerning Equivocation, he was Examined by Cecil and others, that sate as Judges in that case. And lastly, the Earl of Northampton made a long and elaborate discourse against him, in which he largely handled the Authority which the Popes arrogate to themselves of deposing Princes, and discussed that Chapter of *Nos sanctorum*, the ground, as he said, of this and such-like Conspiracies.

* 12 Feb. and 26 Mar.

† The reason whereof the Earl of Salisbury declared at his Tryal.—See the *Proceedings*, *Y*.

At length Sentence is passed by the Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench that Garnet should be Drawn, Hanged, and Quartered.

His Plea for himself was only this, that although he did a long time before know of the Conspiracy, by common fame and Rumours, (for Greenwell only informed him of all the particulars; but under the Seal of Confession, by the laws of which he was forbidden to discover it to any man living): yet that he did admonish Greenwell to desist from the Fact which he did very much disapprove of, and to hinder others engaged in Conscience or privity in it.

Here Cecil severely reproved him; "For, said he, if he did disapprove of the Fact, why did he afford Greenwell the benefit of Absolution before he had by his penitence given testimony that he did truly and from his heart detest the Fact? Furthermore, when as he understood the matter from Catesby, where there was no Seal of Confession, this was sufficient to have made a discovery of the Plot if he had so highly abhorred it as he did pretend."

But there were other things that lay heavy upon his charge, and those chiefly which were amongst his Confessions, written with his own hand and sent to the King, *viz.* "That Greenwell did acquaint him with this not as with a sin (he had to confess) but as an Act which he well enough under-

stood, and in which he required his advice and counsel.

"That Catesby and Greenwell came to him to require his advice upon the matter, and that the whole business might be resolved among them. That Tesmund (for so he was now called, who e'rewhile was Greenwell) and he, did not long agone consult together in Essex of the Particulars of this Conspiracy. Lastly, when Greenwell asked who should be Protector of the Kingdom; Garnet answered, that that answer ought to be deferred till they saw how things should go."

When these things were brought to his remembrance, and did make it appear that he knew of the Conspiracy otherwise than by the way of Confession, all that he answered was, that whatsoever he had signed with his own hand, was true.

Being brought to Execution the Third of May being *Inventio crucis* [Holy rood day] he said, "he came thither that day to find an end at length of all the crosses that he had born in this life; that none were ignorant of the cause of his punishment, that he had sinned against the King in concealing it; that he was sorry for it, and humbly begged the Kings pardon: that the Plot against the King and Kingdom was bloody, and which if it had taken effect he should have detested with all his heart, and that so horrid and inhumane a Fact should be attempted by Catholicks

was that that grieved him more then his death." Then he added many things in defence of Anne Vaux, who was held in Prison, and lay under great suspition upon his account.

Being accused that he had while Q. Eliz.* was alive received certain Breves from Rome, in which he and the Peers inclined to Popery were admonished, "that when that miserable Woman should happen to die, they should admit of no Prince, how nearly soever related in blood, but such as should not only tolerate the Catholick Faith, but by all means promote it;" he said, he had burnt them, the King being received for King. And when he was again Examined on the same things, he referred Henry Monacute† who asked him about it, to his Confessions subscribed by him.

Being taxed for sending Edmund Bainham to Rome, not to return to the City before the Plot should take effect; This he thus excused, "as if he had not sent him upon that account; but that he might inform the Pope of the calamitous state of England, and consult with him what course the Catholicks should take;" and therefore referred them again to his Confessions.

Then he kneeled down upon the stage to his Prayers, and looking about hither and thither, did

* v. *Proceedings*, Q. 3.
† The Recorder of London.

seem to be distressed for the loss of his life, and to hope a Pardon would be brought him from the most merciful Prince: Montacute admonished him that he should no longer think of life, but if he knew of any Treachery against the King or Kingdom, that he should as a dying man presently discover it; for that it was now no time to Equivocate. At which words Garnet being somewhat moved, made answer, "that he knew the time did not admit of Equivocation; that how far and when it is lawful to Equivocate he had otherwhere delivered his opinion, that now he did not equivocate, and that he knew nothing but what he had confessed." Then he excused himself that he did at first dissemble before the Lords; "That he did so because he did not think they had had such testimony and proof against him, till they did produce it; which when they did produce, he thought it as honourable for him to confess, as it would have been at first to have accused himself. He added many things to excuse Greenwell, professing that unless he were out of danger, he would not have discovered the guilt of his dear Brother in this Conspiracy." Then praying that the Catholicks in England* might not fare the

* He said also, "I exhort them all to take heed they enter not into any Treasons, Rebellions, or Insurrections against the King."

worse upon his account, he crossed himself, and after he had commended his Soul to God, the ladder being taken away he was hang'd to death.

In his behalf Andreas Eudaimon-Johannes a Cretian, of the same Society, wrote an Apology,* in answer to Sir Edw. Cokes (Book Intituled) *Actio in Proditores*, (for so much the Title doth imply) published four years after, and approved by Claudius Aquaviva Provincial of the Society, in which chiefly the Doctrine of Equivocation is defended and explained from Scripture, Fathers, Schoolmen, and Thomists; and the necessity and matter of the Seal of Secresie or Confession is debated, and the chief heads of his Accusation are answered; the Speech of the Earl of Northampton is refuted. Moreover he doth endeavour to evince that Garnet never knew any thing of the Conspiracy but by the way of Confession; and that he did always abhor the Treason.

Then some things are related of his Constancy at his Death, which are not related in the History of it. And as a conclusion of his Commentary, there is the memorable Story of the Straw upon which the Effigies of the Dead was seen, at which he saith his Adversaries were very much disturbed.

* Against which Robert Abbot wrote his *Antilogia*, edit. Lond. 1613-14.

Whiles the Body was quartered by the Hangman, some drops of blood fell upon the Straw that was there provided to light the fire. John Wilkinson, who was there present, that he might gather some relique of the Body of Garnet, carried home with him an Ear, that was sprinkled with blood, and deposited it with a Gentlewoman,* who kept it with great veneration in a Christal-glass. Afterward it was observed with great admiration that the Effigies of Garnet was plainly expressed in that blood.

Then with great Zeal was the fame of the Miracle spread abroad; which others did presently elude by a contrary construction; saying, "It ought to seem no wonder if a man brought up among Exiles in Flanders, improved at Rome, in Italy, authorized to a Conspiracy in his own Countrey, and breathing nothing but revenge, did as long as he lived thirst after the blood of his Countreymen, should when dead deserve to be pictured in blood." So dangerous a thing it is in these corrupt times to say any thing for the honour of any man in those things which do exceed belief and the common course of Nature, which may not presently be retorted to his disparagement.

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* Hu. Griffith's Wife.

This end had this Conspiracy; the strangest that either our, or former ages do make mention of, for contrivance, daringness, or cruelty. For it is often heard of, and fame doth deliver it down to posterity, that many Princes are cut off by Treachery, many Common-wealths are attempted by the snares and falshood of their Enemies; but no Country, no Age ever bred such a Monster of Conspiracy as this, wherein the King with the Queen, the Parents with their whole Issue, all the States of the Kingdom, the whole Kingdom it self, and in it innumerable Innocents should all be destined to one Destruction in one moment, for a Sacrifice to the lust of a few enraged Minds.

But it was very well, that that Monster, which they themselves that bear the blame of it, do both by word and writing every where detest, being so before conceived at home, should be strangled in the birth before ever it see the light.

A little while after, Isaac Casaubon when he went into England, thinking of nothing less than to be engaged in this business, upon occasion of another Apology sent to him, and by him delivered to the King of Great Britain, wrote an Elegant Epistle to Fronto Ducæus, in which he showeth that Garnet knew otherwise then under the Seal of Confession of the Powder Conspiracy, by his own Confession and Testimony written with his

own hand, and doth at large discuss the Docrine of Equivocation, as ensnaring and pernicious, against the Arguments of Eudaimon-Johannes. Against which, not Ducæus, but Eudaimon-Johannes doth rail sufficiently.

APPENDIX.

A SPEECH MADE BY KING JAMES TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, UPON OCCASION OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE GUNPOWDER PLOT; DESIGNED TO BE EXECUTED ON THE 5TH NOVEMBER 1605.

MY Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and you the Knights and Burgesses of this Parliament; It was far from my thoughts, till very lately, before my coming to this place, that this Subject should have been ministred unto me, whereupon I am now to speak. But now it so falleth out, That whereas in the preceding Session of this Parliament, the principal occasion of my Speech was, to thank and congratulate all you of this House, and in you, all the whole Commonwealth (as being the representative Body of the State)

for your so willing, and loving receiving, and embracing of me in that place, which God and Nature by descent of Bloud, had in his own time provided for me: So now my subject is, to speak of a far greater Thanksgiving than before I gave to you, being to a far greater person, which is to GOD, for the great and miraculous Delivery he hath at this time granted to me, and to you all, and consequently to the whole Body of this Estate.

I must therefore begin with this old and most approved Sentence of Divinity, *Misericordia Dei supra omnia opera ejus.* For Almighty GOD did not furnish so great matter to his Glory, by the Creation of this great World, as he did by the Redemption of the same, Neither did his Generation of the little World, in our old and first ADAM, so much set forth the praises of GOD in his Justice and Mercy, as did our Regeneration in the last and second ADAM.

And now I must crave a little pardon of you, That since Kings are in the Word of GOD it self called Gods, as being his Lieutenants and Vicegerents on earth, and so adorned and furnished with some sparkles of the Divinity; to compare some of the Works of GOD the Great King, towards the whole and general World, to some of his Works towards Me, and this little world of my Dominions, compassed and severed by the Sea from the rest of the Earth. For as GOD for the just punishment of the first great Sinner in the original World, when the Sons of GOD went in to

the Daughters of Men, and the cup of their iniquities of all sorts was filled, and heaped up to the full, did by a general deluge and overflowing of waters, baptize the World to a general destruction, and not to general purgation (only excepted *Noah* and his family, who did repent and believe the threatnings of God's Judgement:) So now, when the World shall wax old as a Garment, and that all the impieties and sins that can be devised against both the first and second Table have, and shall be committed to the full measure; GOD is to punish the World the second time by Fire, to the general destruction and not purgation thereof. Although as it was done in the former to *Noah* and his Family by the waters; So shall all we that believe be likewise purged, and not destroyed by the Fire. In the like sort, I say I may justly compare these two great and fearful Dooms-days, wherewith GOD threatened to destroy me, and all you or this little World that have interest in me. For although I confess, as all mankind, so chiefly Kings, as being in the higher places, like the high Trees, or stayest Mountains, and steepest rocks, are most subject to the daily tempests of innumerable dangers; and I amongst all other Kings, have ever been subject unto them, not only ever since my birth, but even as I may justly say, before my birth, and while I was yet in my Mother's belly: yet have I been exposed to two more special and greater dangers then all the rest.

The first of them, in the Kingdom where I was

born, and passed the first part or my life: And the last of them here, which is the greatest. In the former, I should have been baptized in bloud, and in my destruction, not only the Kingdom, wherein I then was, but ye also by your future interest, should have tasted of my ruine. Yet it pleased GOD to deliver me, as it were, from the very brink of death, from the point of the dagger, and so to purge me by my thankful acknowledgment of so great a benefit. But in this which did so lately fall out, and which was a destruction prepared not for me alone, but for you all that are here present, and wherein no rank, age, or sex should have been spared; This was not a crying sin of bloud as the former, but it may well be called a roaring, nay, a thundering sin of Fire and Brimstone, from the which, God hath so miracuously delivered us all. What I can speak of this, I know not, Nay rather, what can I not speak of it? And therefore I must for horror say with the Poet, *Vox faucibus hæret.*

In this great and horrible attempt, whereof the like was never either heard or read, I observe three wonderful or rather miraculous events.

First, in the cruelty of the Plot it self, wherein cannot be enough admired the horrible and fearful cruelty of their Device, which was not only for the destruction of my Person, nor of my Wife and Posterity only, but of the whole Body of the State in general; wherein should neither have been spared, or distinction made of young nor of old, of great nor of

small, of man nor of woman: The whole Nobility, the whole Reverend Clergy, Bishops, and most part of the good Preachers, the most part of the Knights and Gentry; yea, and if that any in this Society were favourers of their Profession, they should all have gone one way: the whole Judges of the Land, with the most of the Lawyers and the whole Clerks: And as the wretch himself that is in the Tower, doth confess, it was purposely devised by them, and concluded to be done in this house; That where the cruel Laws (as they say) were made against their Religion, both place and persons should all be destroyed and blown up at once. And then consider therewithal the cruel form of that practice: for by three different sorts in general may mankind be put to death.

The First, by other men, and reasonable creatures, which is least cruel: for then both defence of men against men may be expected, and likwise who knoweth what pity GOD may stirr up in the hearts of the Actors at the very instant? besides the many ways and means, whereby men may escape in such a present fury.

And the Second way more cruel than that, is by *Animal* and unreasonable creatures: for as they have less pity than men, so is it a greater horror, and more unnatural for men to deal with them: But yet with them both resistance may avail, and also some pity may be had, as was in the Lyons, in whose Den *Daniel* was thrown; or that thankful Lyon, that had the *Roman* slave in his mercy.

But the Third, which is most cruel and unmerciful of all, is the destruction by insensible and inanimate things; and amongst them all, the most cruel are the two Elements of Water and Fire; and of those two the Fire most raging and merciless.

Secondly, How wonderful it is when you shall think upon the small, or rather no ground, whereupon the Practisers were enticed to invent this Tragedy. For if these Conspirators had only been bankrupt persons, or discontented upon occasion of any disgraces done unto them; this might have seemed to have been but a work of revenge. But for my own part, as I scarcely ever knew any of them. So cannot they alledge so much as a pretended cause of grief: And the wretch himself in hands doth confess, That there was no cause moving him or them, but meerly, and only Religion. And specially, that Christian men, at least so called, *Englishmen*, born within the Countrey, and one of the specials of them, my sworn Servant, in an Honorable place, should Practise the destruction of their King, his Posterity, their Countrey and all: wherein their following obstinacy is so joyned to their former malice, as the fellow himself that is in hand, cannot be moved to discover any signes or notes of repentance, except only, that he doth not yet stand to avow, that he repents for not being able to perform his intent.

Thirdly, The discovery hereof is not a little wonderful, which would be thought the more miraculous by

you all, if you were as well acquainted with my natural disposition, as those are who be near about me. For as I ever did hold suspition to be the sickness of a Tyrant, so was I so far upon the other extremity, as I rather contemned all advertisements or apprehensions of practises. And yet now at this time was I so far contrary to my self, as when the Letter was showed to me by my Secretary, wherein a general obscure advertisement was given of some dangerous blow at this time, I did upon the instant interpret and apprehend some dark phrases therein, contrary to the ordinary Grammer construction of them (and in another sort than I am sure any Divine, or Lawyer in any University would have taken them) to be meant by this horrible form of blowing us up all by Powder; and thereupon ordered, that search to be made, whereby the matter was discovered, and the man apprehended: whereas if I had apprehended or interpreted it to any other sort of danger, or worldly provision or prevention could have made us escape our utter destruction.

And in that also, was there a wonderful providence of God, and when the party himself was taken, he was but new come out of his house from working, having his Fisework for kindling ready in his pocket, wherewith as he confesseth, if he had been taken but immediately before, when he was in the House, he was resolved to have blown up himself with his Takers.

One thing for my own part have I cause to thank GOD in, That if GOD for our sins had suffered their

wicked intents to have prevailed, it should never have been spoken nor written in ages succeeding, that I had died ingloriously in an Ale-house, a stews, or such vile place, but mine end should have been the most Honourable and best company, and in that most Honourable and fittest place for a King to be in, for doing the turns most proper to his Office; and the more have We all cause to thank and magnifie GOD for this his merciful delivery. And specially I for my part, that he hath given me yet once leave, whatsoever should come of me hereafter, to assemble you in this Honourable place; And here in this place, where our general destruction should have been, to magnifie and praise him for Our general delivery; That I may justly now say of mine enemies and yours, as *David* doth often say in the *Psalm*, *Incidorunt in foveam, quam fecerunt.* And since Scipio an Ethnick, led only by the light of Nature, That day when he was accused by the Tribunes of the people of Rome, for mispending and wasting in his Punick war the Cities Treasure, even upon the sudden brake out with that diversion of them from that matter, calling them to remembrance how that day, was the day of the year, wherein GOD hath given them so great a victory against Hannibal, and therefore it was fitter for them all, leaving other matters to run to the Temple to praise GOD for that so great delivery, which the people did all follow with one applause: How much more cause have we that are Christians to bestow this time in this place for

Thanksgiving to GOD for his great Mercy, tho we had had no other errand of assembling here at this time? wherein if I have spoken more like a Divine, than would seem to belong to this place, the matter it self must plead for mine excuse: for being here come to thank God for a Divine work of his Mercy, how can I speake of this deliverance of us from so hellish a practice, so well, as in language of Divinity, which is the direct opposit to so damnable an intention? And therefore may I justly end this purpose, as I did begin it with this Sentence, The mercy of God is above all his works.

It resteth now, that I should shortly inform you what is to be done hereafter upon the occasion of this horrible and strange accident. As for your part that are my faithful and loving Subjects of all degree, I know that your hearts are so burnt up with zeal in this errand, and your tongues so ready to utter your dutiful affections, and your hands and feet so bent to concur in the execution thereof, (for which as I need not to spur you, so can I not but praise you for the same:) As it may very well be possible, that the zeal of your hearts shall make some of you in your speeches, rashly to blame such as may be innocent of this attempt; But upon the other part I wish you to consider, That I would be sorry that any being innocent of this practice, either domestical or forrain, should receive blame or harm, for the same. For although it cannot be denied, That it was the only blind superstì-

tion of their errors in Religion, that led them to this desperate device; yet doth it not follow, That all professing that Romish Religion were guilty of the same. For as it is true, That no other sect of Heretiques, not excepting Turk, Jew, nor Pagan, no not even those of Calicute who adore the Devil, did ever maintain by the grounds of their Religion, That it was lawful, or rather meritorious (as the Romish Catholicks call it) to murder Princes or people for quarrel of Religion. And although particular men of all professions of Religion have been some Thieves, some Murderers, some Traitors, yet ever when they came to their end and just punishment, they confessed their fault to be in their nature, and not in their profession (These Romish Catholicks only excepted:) Yet it is true on the other side, That many honest men blinded peradventure with some opinions of Popery, as if they be not found in the questions of the Real presence, or in the number of the Sacraments, or some such School-question: yet do they either not know, or at least, not believe all the true grounds of Popery, which is indeed, The mystery of iniquity. And therefore do we justly confess, that many Papists, especially our fore-fathers, laying their only trust upon Christ and his merits at their last breath, may be, and oftentimes are saved; detesting in that point, and thinking the cruelty of Puritans worthy of Fire, that will admit no salvation to any Papist. I therefore thus do conclude this point, That as upon the one part many honest

men, seduced with some errors of Popery, may yet remain good and faithful Subjects: So upon the other part, none of those that truly know and believe the whole grounds, and School-conclusions of their Doctrine, can ever prove either good Christians, or faithful Subjects. And for the part of forrain Princes and States, I may so much the more acquit them, and their ministers, of their knowledge and consent to any such villany, as I may justly say, that in that point I better know all Christian Kings by my self, that no King nor Prince of Honor will ever abase himself so much, as to think a good thought of so base and dishonourable a Treachery: wishing you therefore, that as GOD hath given me an happy peace and amity, with all other Christian Princes my neighbors (as was even now very gravely told you by my L. Chancellor) that so you will reverently judge and speak of them in this case. And for my part I would wish with those antient Philosophers, that there were a Christal window in my breast, wherein all my people might see the secretest thoughts of my heart, for then might you all see no alteration in my mind for this accident, further than in those two points. The first, caution and wariness in government: to discover and search out the mysteries of this wickedness as far as may be: The other, after due trial, Severity of punishment upon those that shall be found guilty of so detestable and unheard of villany. And now in this matter, if I have troubled your ears with an abrupt Speech, undi-

gested in any good method or order; you have to consider that an abrupt, and unadvised Speech doth best become in the relation of so abrupt and unorderly an accident.

And although I have ordained the Proroguing of this Parliament until after Christmas upon two necessary respects: whereof the first is, that neither I nor my Council can have leasure at this time both to take order for the apprehension and trial of these Conspirators, and also to wait upon the daily affairs of the Parliament, as the Council must do. And the other reason is, the necessity at this time of divers of your presences in your Shires that have Charges and Commandments there. For as these wretches thought to have blown up in a manner the whole world of this Island, every man being now come up here, either for publick causes of Parliament, or else for their own private causes in Law, or otherwise: So these Rebels that now wander through the Countrey, could never have gotten so fit a time of safety in their passage, or whatsoever unlawful Actions, as now when the countrey by the foresaid occasions is in a manner left desolate, and waste unto them. Besides that, It may be that I shall desire you at your next Session, to take upon you the Judgment of this Crime: for as so extraordinary a Fact deserves extraordinary Judgment, So can there not I think (following even their own Rule) be a fitter Judgment for them, than that they should be measured with the same measure wherewith

they thought to measure us: and that the same place and persons, whom they thought to destroy, should be the just avengers of their so unnatural a Parricide: Yet not knowing that I will have occasion to meet with you my self in this place at the beginning of the next Session of this Parliament (because if it had not been for delivering of the Articles agreed upon by the Commissioners of the Union, which was thought most convenient to be done in my presence, where both Head and Members of the Parliament were met together, my presence had not otherwise been requisite at this time: I have therefore thought good for conclusion of this Meeting, to discourse to you somewhat anent the true nature and definition of a Parliament, which I will remit to your memories, till your next sitting down; that you may then make use of it as occasion shall be ministred.

For albeit it be true, that at the first Session of my first Parliament, which was not long after mine Entry into this Kingdom, It could not become me to inform you of any thing belonging to Law or State here: (for all knowledge must either be infused, or acquired, and seeing the former sort thereof is now with Prophesie, ceased in the World, it could not be possible for me, at my first Entry here, before Experience had taught it me, to be able to understand the particular Mysteries of this State:) yet now that I have reigned almost three years amongst you, and have been careful to observe those things that belong to the Office of a

King, albeit that Time be but a short time for experience in others, yet in a King may it be thought a reasonable long time, especially in me, who, although I be but in a manner a new King here, yet have been long acquainted with the office of a King in such another Kingdom, as doth nearest of all others agree with the Lawes and Customes of this State. Remitting to your consideration to judge of that which hath been concluded by the Commissioners of the Union, wherein I am at this time to signifie unto you, That as I can bear witness to the foresaid Commissioners, that they have not agreed nor concluded therein any thing, wherein they have not foreseen as well the Weal and Commodity of the one Countrey, as of the other; So can they all bear me record, that I was so far from pressing them to agree to any thing, which might bring with it any prejudice to this People; as by the contrary I did ever admonish them, never to conclude upon any such Union, as might carry hurt or grudge with it to either of the said Nations: for the leaving of any such thing, could not but be the greatest hinderance that might be to such an Action, which GOD by the Laws of Nature had provided to be in his own time, and hath now in effect perfected in my Person; to which purpose my Lord Chancellor hath better spoken, than I am able to relate.

And as to the nature of this high Court of Parliament, It is nothing else but the Kings great Council, which the King doth assemble, either upon occasion of

interpreting, or abrogating old Lawes, or making of new, according as ill manners shall deserve, or for the publick punishment of notorious evil doers, or the praise and reward of the virtuous and well deservers; wherein these four things are to be considered.

First, Whereof this Court is composed. 1.

Secondly, What Matters are proper for it. 2.

Thirdly, To what end it is ordained. 3.

And *Fourthly*, What are the meanes and wayes whereby this end should be brought to pass. 4.

As for the thing it self, It is composed of a Head and a body: The Head is the King, the Body are the members of the Parliament. This Body again is subdivided into two parts; The Upper and Lower House: The Upper compounded partly of Nobility, Temporal men, who are heritable Councellors to the high Court of Parliament by the honor of their Creation and Lands: And partly of Bishops, Spiritual men, who are likewise by the virtue of their place and dignity Counsellors, Life-Renters, or *Ad vitam* of this Court. The other House is composed of Knights for the Shire, and Gentry, and Burgesses for the Towns. But because the number would be infinite for all the Gentlemen and Burgesses to be present at every Parliament, Therefore a certain number is selected and chosen out

of that great Body, serving onely for that Parliament, where their persons are the representation of that Body.

Now the Matters whereof they are to treat ought therefore to be general, and rather of such matters as cannot well be performed without the assembling of that general Body, and no more of these generals neither, than necessity shall require: for as in *Corruptissimæ Republica sunt plurimæ leges:* So doth the life and strength of the Law consist not in heaping up infinite and confused numbers of Laws, but in the right interpretation and good execution of good and wholesome Laws. If this be so then, neither is this a place on the one side for every rash and harebrain fellow to propone new Laws of his own invention: nay rather I could wish these busie heads to remember that Law of the Lacedemonians, That whosoevor came to propone a new Law to the People, behoved publickly to present himself with a Rope about his neck, that in case the Law were not allowed, he should be hanged therewith. So wary should men be of proponing Novelties, but most of all, not to propone any bitter or seditious Laws, which can produce nothing but grudges and discontentment between the Prince and his people: nor yet is it on the other side a convenient place for private men under the colour of general Laws to propone nothing but their own particular gain, either to the hurt of their private neighbours, or to the hurt of the whole State in

general, which many times under fair and pleasing Titles, are innocently passed over, and so by stealth procure without consideration, that the private meaning of them tendeth to nothing but either to the wreck of a particular party, or else under colour of publique benefit to pill the poor people, and serve as it were for a general Impost upon them for filling the purses of some private Persons.

And as to the end for which the Parliament is ordained, being only for the advancement of Gods glory, and the establishment and wealth of the King and his people: It is no place then for particular men to utter there their private conceipts, nor for satisfaction of their curiosities, and Least of all to make shew of their eloquence, by tyning the time with long studied and eloquent Orations. No, the reverence of God, their King, and their Countrey, being well setled in their hearts; will make them ashamed of such toyes, and remember that they are there as sworn Councellors to their King, to give their best advice for the furtherance of his Service, and the flourishing Weale of his Estate.

And lastly, if you will rightly consider the means and wayes how to bring all your labours to a good end, you must remember, That you are here assembled by your lawful King to give him your best advices, in the matters proposed by him unto you, being of that nature, which I have already told, wherein you are gravely to deliberate, and upon your consciences

plainly to determine how far those things propounded do agree with the Weale, both of your King, and of your Country, whose weales cannot be separated. And as for my self, the world shall ever bear me witness, That I never shall propone any thing unto you, which shall not as well tend to the Weale publick, as to any benefit for me: So shall I never oppone my self to that, which may tend to the good of the Commonwealth, for the which I am ordained, as I have often said. And as you are to give your advice in such things, as shall by your King be proposed: So is it on your part your duties to propone any thing that you can, after mature deliberation judge to be needful, either for these ends already spoken of, or otherwise for the discovery of any latent evil in the Kingdom, which peradventure may not have come to the Kings eare. If this then ought to be your grave manner of proceeding in this place, Men should be ashamed to make shew of the quickness of their wits here, either in taunting, scoffing, or detracting the Prince or State in any point, or yet in breaking jests upon their fellowes, for which the Ordinaries or Alehouses are fitter places, than this Honorable and high Court of Parliament.

In conclusion then, since you are to break up for the Reasons I have already told you, I wish such of you as have any charges in your Countries, to hasten you home for the repressing of the insolencies of these Rebels, and apprehension of their persons, wherein, as

I heartily pray to the Almighty for your prosperous success: so do I not doubt, but we shall shortly hear the good News of the same; And that you shall have an happy return, and meeting here to all our comforts.

Here the Lord Chancellor spake touching the Proroguing of the Parliament. And having done, his Majesty rose again, and said.

Since it pleased GOD to grant me two such notable Deliveries upon one day of the week, which was Tuesday, and likewise one day of the Moneth which was the fifth; thereby to teach me, That as it was the same Devil that still persecuted me: So it was one and the same GOD that still mightily delivered me; I thought it therefore not amiss, that the one and twentieth day of January, which fell to be upon Tuesday, should be the day of meeting of this next Session of Parliament, hoping and assuring my self, that the same GOD, who hath now granted me and you all so notable and gracious a Delivery, shall prosper all our affairs at that next Session, and bring them to a happy conclusion. And now I consider God hath well provided it, that the ending of this Parliament hath been so long continued, For as for mine own part, I never had any other intention, but only to seek so far my weale, and prosperity, as might conjunctly stand with the flourishing State of the whole Common-wealth, as I have often told you: So on the other part I confess, if I had been in your places at the beginning of this Parliament (which was so soon after mine entry

into this Kingdom, wherein ye could not possibly have so perfect a knowledge of mine inclination, as experience since hath taught you) I could not but have suspected, and mis-interpreted divers things : In the trying whereof, now I hope, by your experience of my behaviour and form of government, you are well enough cleared, and resolved.

FINIS.

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